## Message Text

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INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11 EB-08 OMB-01 TRSE-00 /086 W
------087827 231810Z /47

R 230728Z MAY 78 FM AMEMBASSY KABUL TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8164 INFO AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI AMEMBASSY TEHRAN AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

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E.O. 11652: XGDS-1 TAGS: PEPR, IN, AF, US

SUBJECT: INDIAN POLICY FOLLOWING THE AFGHAN COUP

- 1. SUMMARY. A CONVERSATION WITH THE INDIAN AMBASSADOR TO AFGHANI-STAN REVEALED A WIDE COINCIDENCE OF VIEW AND PROVIDED SOME FOOD FOR THOUGHT FOR THE FORTHCOMING CARTER-DESAI MEETING. END SUMMARY
- 2. INDIAN AMBASSADOR S.(. SINGH CAME TO SEE ME MAY 22. HE SAID HE WAS LEAVING A DAY OR TWO FOR CONSULTATIONS IN NEW DELHI ON THE AFGHAN SITUATION. HE HOPED INDIAN AMBASSADOR BAJAPI IN ISLAMBAD WOULD ALSO BE PRESENT IN NEW DELHI, BUT SAID BAJPAI MAY NOT BE ABLE TO LEAVE ISLAMABAD "BECAUSE OF ALL THE TROUBLES HE IS HAVING THERE." SINGH SAID THAT HIS GOVERNMENT HAS NOT MADE UP ITS MIND ABOUT HOW IT SHOULD SHAPE ITS REGIONAL POLICY FOLLOWING THE AFGHAN COUP AND IMPLIED THAT HIS TRIP TO NEW DELHI IS SO THAT HE CAN PARTICIPATE IN A POLICY REVIEW.
- 3. SINGH AND I ARE IN GENERAL AGREEMENT ON THE FOLLOWING:

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A. EXCEPT FOR POSSIBLE SPLITS IN THE MILITARY OR BETWEEN THE CIVILIAN AND MILITARY LEADERSHIP AND/OR RIGHT-WING ASSASSINATION ATTEMPTS, THE TARAKI GOVERNMENT CAN PROBABLY STAY IN POWER WITHOUT FACING MAJOR RESISTANCE FOR SIX MONTHS TO A YEAR. THEREAFTER, MUCH WILL DEPEND ON THE ECONOMIC SITUATION, INCLUDING THE LEVEL OF COMPETENCE IN THE GOVERNMENT TO DEAL WITH ECONOMIC PROBLEMS. IN THE LONGER TERM, THE TRIBAL ETHOS OF AFGHAN CULTURE WILL HAVE TO BE

## ASSUAGED BY THE REGIME.

- B. THE TARAKI GOVERNMENT'S DEPENDENCE ON THE SOVIETS IS SO GREAT THAT SOVIET INFLUENCE IN AFGHANISTAN IS BOUND TO INCREASE.
- C. WESTERN GOVERNMENTS SHOULD KEEP THE DOOR OPEN TO THE AFGHAN GOVERNMENT (DRA), SHOULD THE DRA WANT TO AVAIL ITSELF OF WESTERN ASSISTANCE.
- 4. SINGH SEEMED A BIT SURPRISED WHEN I TOLD HIM OF MY CONVICTION THAT THE KHALQISTS AND THE SOVIETS HAVE FOR A LONG TIME BEEN COMMITTED TO A FORWARD PUSHTUNISTAN AND BALUCHISTAN POLICY AND WOULD, IF THE TARAKI REGIME CONSOLIDATES ITSELF, STIR UP THESE ISSUES IN THE FUTURE. I ALSO TOLD HIM -- WHICH HE HAD ALREADY FIGURED OUT FOR HIMSELF -- THAT IMPORTANT U.S. INTERESTS IN THE REGION, FROM INDIA THROUGH THE PERSIAN GULF TO TURKEY, ARE INVOLVED IN THIS SITUATION.
- 5. SINGH SAID HE RECOGNIZES THAT THE DRA IS USING INDIA TO SOME DEGREE TO PRESERVE ITS NONALIGNED IMAGE. BUT, HE CLEARLY ALSO FEELS IT OF VITAL IMPORTANCE TO PROMOTE WARM RELATIONS WITH THE DRA.
- 6. COMMENT: WHILE OF COURSE DEFERRING TO AMBASSOR GOHEEN'S VIEWS, IT SEEMS TO ME THAT IT IS IMPORTANT, WHEN THEY MEET, FOR PRESIDENT CARTER TO STRESS TO PRIME MINISTER DESAI THAT, IN THIS NEW SITUATION, INDIA SHOULD DO ITS UTMOST TO REASSURE PAKISTAN AND TO BEND LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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OVER

BACKWARDS TO OVERCOME PAK SUSPICIONS ABOUT INDIAN POLICY. I AM FULLY AWARE THAT ALL THIS IS EASIER SAID THAN DONE, BUT IT SEEMS TO ME IT BEHOOVES US TO MAKE THE EFFORT. ELIOT

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## Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X Capture Date: 01 jan 1994 Channel Indicators: n/a

**Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED** 

Concepts: GOVERNMENT OVERTHROW, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION

Control Number: n/a Copy: SINGLE Draft Date: 23 may 1978 Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960 Decaption Note: Disposition Action: RELEASED Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW

Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014 Disposition Event: Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978KABUL04198
Document Source: CD02

**Document Unique ID: 00** Drafter: n/a Enclosure: DG ALTERED Executive Order: N/A

Errors: N/A **Expiration:** 

Film Number: D780217-0012

Format: TEL From: KABUL

Handling Restrictions: n/a

Image Path: ISecure: 1

Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780530/aaaaayza.tel

Line Count: 99 Litigation Code IDs: Litigation Codes:

Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM

Message ID: 689b0799-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc

Office: ACTION NEA

Original Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE Original Handling Restrictions: n/a Original Previous Classification: n/a Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a

Page Count: 2
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a

Previous Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a

Reference: n/a Retention: 0

Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED Review Content Flags:

Review Date: 24 may 2005 Review Event:

Review Exemptions: n/a **Review Media Identifier:** Review Release Date: n/a Review Release Event: n/a **Review Transfer Date:** Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a

SAS ID: 2608049 Secure: OPEN Status: NATIVE

Subject: INDIAN POLICY FOLLOWING THE AFGHAN COUP

TAGS: PEPR, PINS, IN, AF, US

To: STATE Type: TE

vdkvgwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS\_Docs/689b0799-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc

Review Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014

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